

Report to the Majority Leader, U.S. Senate

March 1996

PEACE OPERATIONS

U.S. Costs in Support of Haiti, Former Yugoslavia, Somalia, and Rwanda





United States General Accounting Office Washington, D.C. 20548

National Security and International Affairs Division

B-265939

March 6, 1996

The Honorable Robert Dole Majority Leader United States Senate

Dear Senator Dole:

As requested, we are providing you information on U.S. agencies' estimated costs for their support of U.N. peace operations in Haiti, the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Somalia for fiscal years 1992 through 1995. For this report, we define peace operations as actions taken in support of U.N. resolutions designed to further peace and security, including observers; monitors; traditional peacekeeping; preventive deployment; peace enforcement; security assistance; the imposition of sanctions; and the provision, protection, and delivery of humanitarian relief.²

Background

U.S. agencies' costs in support of peace operations are paid from their congressional appropriations. These costs include expenditures for (1) direct participation of U.S. military forces, (2) the U.S. share of U.N. peacekeeping assessments, and (3) humanitarian and related assistance. The Departments of Defense (DOD) and State are the two lead agencies responsible for planning and implementing U.S. participation in peace operations. The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) is the primary agency responsible for providing humanitarian assistance, including food donated by the Department of Agriculture. USAID provides humanitarian assistance through the United Nations and private organizations. The Departments of Justice, Commerce, Treasury, Transportation, and Health and Human Services are also involved in activities in support of peace operations. The agencies' specific actions related to the four peace operations are presented in appendix I.

¹The U.N. peace operations are the U.N. Mission in Haiti; U.N. Protection Force for former Yugoslavia; U.N. Assistance Mission in Rwanda; and U.N. Operations in Somalia . As of March 31, 1995, U.N. operations in the former Yugoslavia were divided into three separate operations for Bosnia, Croatia, and Macedonia.

²This definition is based on DOD's definition of peace operations in the Annual Report of the Secretary of Defense to the President and the Congress, February 1995, p. 22; and Joint Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures, Department of Defense, Joint Publication 3-07, 3, April 29, 1994.

Results in Brief

From fiscal years 1992 through 1995, the incremental cost reported by U.S. government agencies for support of U.N. peace operations in Haiti, the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Somalia was over \$6.6 billion³ (see table 1). The United Nations has reimbursed the United States \$79.4 million for some of these costs.

Table 1: Reported U.S. Costs for Support of Selected U.N. Peace Operations (Fiscal Years 1992-95)

Dollars in millions						
	Fiscal year					
Country	1992	1993	1994	1995	1992-95	
Haiti	\$79.7	\$130.4	\$530.8	\$875.8	\$1,616.7	
Former Yugoslavia	126.7	408.7	959.0	692.5	2,186.9	
Rwanda	22.1	24.8	261.4	265.4	573.7	
Somalia	92.9	1,124.8	913.3	92.1	2,223.1	
Total	\$321.4	\$1,688.7	\$2,664.5	\$1,925.8	\$6,600.4	

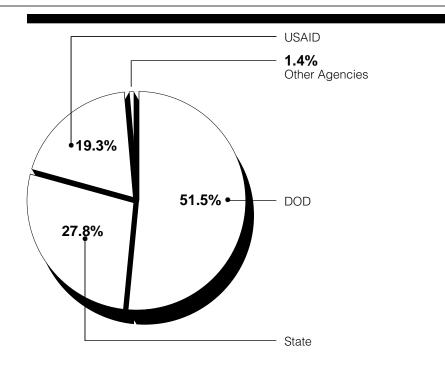
Note: As of August 1995, the United Nations had reimbursed the United States \$79.4 million for its participation in these operations.

From fiscal years 1992 through 1995, DOD's incremental costs to support the four operations were about \$3.4 billion, ⁴ the State Department's were about \$1.8 billion, and USAID's were about \$1.3 billion (including \$556 million for commodities and transportation). The Departments of Justice, Commerce, Treasury, Transportation, and Health and Human Services reported incremental costs of which totaled about \$91 million. Figure 1 shows the percentage distribution of agency costs from fiscal years 1992 through 1995.

³The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 (P.L. 101-508) defined incremental costs for Operation Desert Shield as those costs that would not have been incurred except for the operation. DOD uses that definition for other incremental cost assessments. For other agencies, expenses such as salaries, which would be paid regardless of the employees' work-related activities, are excluded from the \$6.6 billion.

⁴It is not possible to provide DOD's final costs for these operations. As we have reported previously, DOD's financial systems cannot reliably determine costs of specific operations. Data on obligations are generated by individual military units that report up the chain of command. The individual services then use various management information systems to identify incremental costs, but an overall system is not in place to capture actual incremental costs.

Figure 1: Distribution of U.S. Agency Costs in Support of Selected Peace Operations (Fiscal Years 1992-95)



Agency Comments

The Department of State, DOD, and USAID generally agreed with this report, but each offered some technical and editorial suggestions, which we have incorporated where appropriate. DOD's written comments are reprinted in appendix II; State and USAID provided oral comments.

Scope and Methodology

We met with officials from DOD, the Departments of State, Agriculture, Justice, Commerce, Transportation, and Health and Human Services; USAID; and the U.S. Mission to the United Nations to obtain information on the costs in support of the four peace operations. We obtained DOD's reported incremental costs for the four operations from fiscal years 1992 through 1995. We also reviewed data supporting DOD's request for supplemental appropriations. For the other agencies and departments, we used a data collection instrument to obtain the cost information, including funds obligated and transferred through lead agencies. We also obtained budget reports and documents from State Department officials and from finance officials at the U.N. Controller's Office and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations.

At all the agencies, we discussed with officials how they budgeted and accounted for peace operations' costs. In addition, we reviewed other GAO reports that previously reported cost data for peace operations. In some cases, the cost data we obtained from participating agencies changed from amounts previously reported because agencies update their costs as more information becomes available. We did not verify the accuracy of the costs reported; however, a forthcoming report will address issues concerning the consistency, accuracy, and reliability of DOD's incremental costs related to contingency operations.

We did our review from February to November 1995 in accordance with generally accepted government auditing standards.

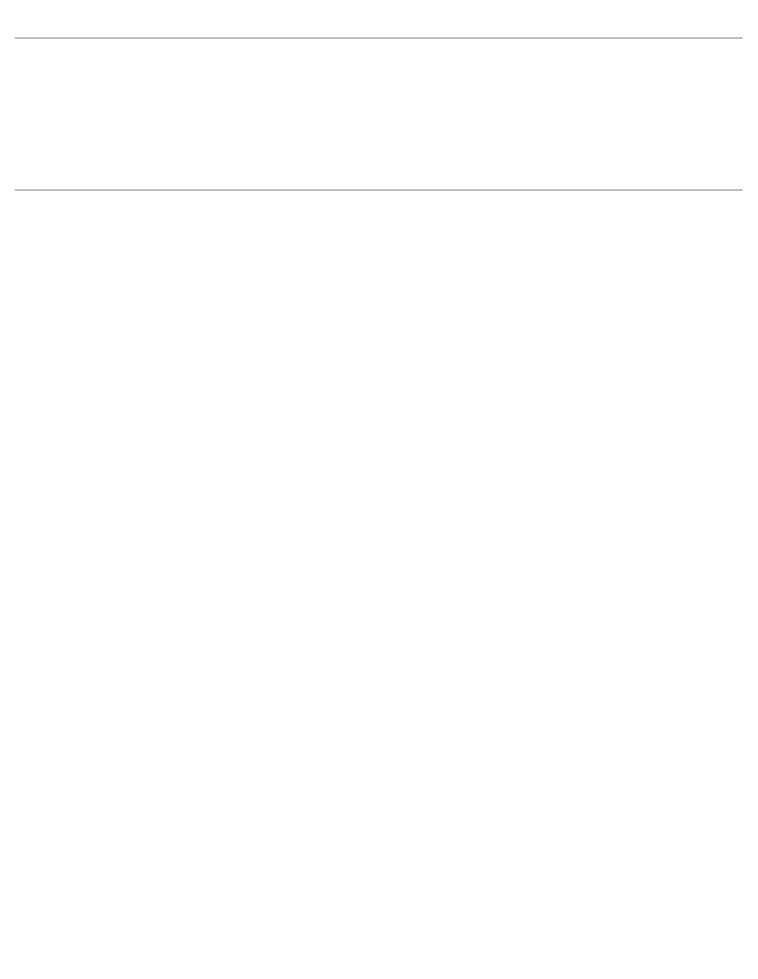
We are sending copies of this report to appropriate congressional committees; the Secretaries of Defense, State, Agriculture, Treasury, Transportation, Justice, Commerce, and Health and Human Services; the Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development; the Director, Office of Management and Budget; and the Secretary General of the United Nations. Copies will also be made available to others upon request.

Please contact me at (202) 512-4128 if you or your staff have any questions concerning this report. The major contributors to this report were Tetsuo Miyabara, Joseph C. Brown, and Elizabeth Nyang.

Sincerely yours,

Harold J. Johnson Associate Director

International Relations and Trade Issues



Haiti

In September 1991, a military junta forced the elected President of Haiti into exile and many Haitians fled the country amidst widespread human rights abuses. In response, the United Nations passed several resolutions, including an international trade embargo on Haiti and a U.N. mission to monitor human rights. In September 1993, following a negotiated agreement for a return to democratic rule, the U.N. Security Council authorized the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH), to facilitate the transition, train and monitor the Haitian police, and modernize the armed forces. However, UNMIH, which was to have included 567 police monitors, 700 military construction personnel, and a small military training unit, was prevented from landing in Haiti, and the international community responded by tightening enforcement of the embargo. Subsequently, a U.N.-sanctioned, U.S.-led multinational force launched Operation Uphold Democracy in September 1994. The multinational force achieved its mission in January 1995, establishing a secure environment in Haiti and allowing the exiled President to return. In March 1995, an expanded unmih, which included a 6,000-troop force, replaced the multinational force. The reported incremental costs to the U.S. government for support of these activities from fiscal years 1992 through 1995 was over \$1.6 billion (see table I.1).

Table I.1: Costs of Peace Operations in Haiti (Fiscal Years 1992-95)

Dollars in millions						
Agency	Fiscal year					
	1992	1993	1994	1995	1992-95	
DOD	\$9.3	\$2.8	\$372.1	\$568.7	\$952.9	
State (U.S. assessment for	2.7	15.2	18.1	78.6	114.6	
UNMIH)	(0)	(0)	(0.5)	(51.9) ^a	(52.4)	
USAID	66.0	111.6	123.9	187.6	489.1	
Other ^b	1.7	0.8	16.7	40.9°	60.1	
Total	\$79.7	\$130.4	\$530.8	\$875.8	\$1,616.7	

Note: Amounts do not include the costs to aid Haitian migrants in the United States.

From fiscal years 1992 through 1995, the Department of Defense's (DOD) incremental costs of \$952.9 million were for the multinational force, UNMIH,

^aThis figure includes \$81,000 in assessments billed by the United Nations in fiscal year 1994 but paid in fiscal year 1995. As of the end of fiscal year 1995, U.S. assessments were paid in full.

^bOther agencies included the Departments of Health and Human Services, Transportation (primarily the Coast Guard), Justice, Commerce, and Treasury.

[°]This figure includes \$28.3 million transferred from DOD for operations in Haiti.

and related U.N. resolutions. Following U.N. resolutions authorizing an international embargo on Haiti in 1993, dod helped enforce the embargo and supported migrant processing operations at the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. During the early phases of Operation Uphold Democracy, dod continued enforcing the embargo and following the landing on Haiti, established and maintained civic order, searched for and seized weapons, conducted civil affairs programs, trained troops from other nations in peacekeeping duties, repaired roads, and coordinated the return of about 14,000 Haitians from the Guantanamo Bay Naval Base.

The State Department reported costs of \$114.6 million during fiscal years 1992 through 1995, including the U.S. assessment for UNMIH (\$52.4 million). An estimated \$16 million was used to assist Haitian victims and refugees and provide grants to private voluntary organizations for distribution in Haiti. The State Department also provided support to multinational force contingents that could not be provided through section 506 of the Foreign Assistance Act (drawdown of defense articles and services).

The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) suspended its assistance programs to Haiti after the September 1991 coup, but on November 10, 1991, it reactivated the feeding programs and health services through private voluntary organizations. USAID also helped fund the Department of Justice's International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program to train the Haitian police force and provided funding for the joint Organization of American States/United Nations International Civilian Mission in Haiti which monitors human rights issues.

The Departments of Justice, Commerce, Treasury, Transportation, and Health and Human Services provided direct and indirect support to the peace operation in Haiti. For example, the Department of Justice provided funds for programs to train judges and strengthen the criminal justice system and to help with migration emergencies and refugee processing. Under the Department of Transportation, the Coast Guard played an active role in interdicting Haitian refugees. The Department of Health and Human Services provided health care services to Haitian refugees at the U.S. Guantanamo Bay Naval Base in Cuba and conducted limited follow-up health services in Florida.

Former Yugoslavia

U.N. peace operations in the former Yugoslavia were authorized by the U.N. Security Council in February 1992 to facilitate a peaceful resolution

to the crisis. The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) initially monitored the cease-fire in Croatia and provided humanitarian assistance in Bosnia. In October 1992, the United Nations designated Bosnia a no-fly zone and in mid-1993 mandated UNPROFOR to deter attacks against six safe areas in Bosnia. The reported incremental costs to the U.S. government to support these objectives from fiscal years 1992 through 1995 was \$2.19 billion (see table I.2). This does not include costs related to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Implementation Force deployment.

Table I.2: Costs of Peace Operations in Former Yugoslavia (Fiscal Years 1992-95)

Dollars in millions						
	Fiscal year					
Agency	1992	1993	1994	1995	1992-95	
DODª	\$5.8	\$138.8	\$292.0	\$347.4	\$784.0	
State (includes U.S. assessment	110.0	141.3	547.1	249.6	1,048.0	
for UNPROFOR)	(76.4)	(70.1)	(459.7)	(179.8) ^b	(786.0)	
USAID	10.9	126.9	116.9	93.4	348.1	
Otherc	0	1.7	3.0	2.1	6.8	
Total	\$126.7	\$408.7	\$959.0	\$692.5	\$2,186.9	

^aAs of August 1995, the United Nations had reimbursed DOD \$16.2 million for its participation in U.N. peace operations in former Yugoslavia.

^bThis figure includes \$153.7 million in assessments billed by the United Nations in fiscal year 1994 but paid in fiscal year 1995. As of the end of fiscal year 1995, outstanding U.S. assessments for UNPROFOR were \$599.7 million. These costs are not included in this report.

^cOther agencies include the Departments of Transportation and Treasury.

DOD reported incremental costs of \$784 million in the former Yugoslavia from fiscal years 1992 through 1995 for humanitarian airdrops over Bosnia, operation of a hospital in Croatia, and airlift of food, clothing, and medical supplies to Sarajevo. As a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the United States also incurred peacekeeping costs for enforcing the no-fly zone over Bosnia and launching air strikes against parties that attacked safe areas or fired on U.N. peacekeepers. These costs are included in the table I.2. However, munitions expended during these operations are not included in incremental costs and they were not included by DOD when it developed its requests for supplemental appropriations.

Of State's reported \$1.05 billion costs for support of U.N. peace operations in the former Yugoslavia through fiscal year 1995, approximately

\$786 million was for the U.S. assessment for UNPROFOR. The State Department also provided funds for international and nongovernmental organizations, such as the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Organization for Migration, Doctors without Borders, and the International Rescue Committee, to aid conflict victims and refugees in former Yugoslavia.

From fiscal years 1992 through 1995, USAID costs in the former Yugoslavia were \$348.1 million for food and humanitarian assistance and the support of humanitarian organizations. The Coast Guard helped enforce the U.S.-sanctioned maritime embargo operations in the Adriatic and Ionian seas. The Department of Treasury also provided support for sanctions in the former Yugoslavia.

Rwanda

U.N. relief operations in Rwanda began in July 1992, and the U.N. Security Council authorized a U.N. observer mission in Uganda-Rwanda (unomur), along the Uganda-Rwanda border in June 1993 to monitor the movement of military supplies. The mission was terminated in September 1994. In subsequent resolutions, the Security Council established the U.N. Assistance Mission for Rwanda (unamir) and authorized it to act as an intermediary between the warring parties and help provide security for civilians and relief operations. unamir I was established in October 1993 to facilitate the August 1993 peace settlement. It was replaced by unamir II in June 1994 following the outbreak of violence in April 1994. The reported incremental cost to U.S. government agencies for actions supporting U.N. peace operations in Rwanda from fiscal year 1992 through 1995 was \$574 million (see table I.3).

Table I.3: Costs of Peace Operations in Rwanda (Fiscal Years 1992-95)

Dollars in millions						
Agency	Fiscal year					
	1992	1993	1994	1995	1992-95	
DOD ^a	\$0	\$1.0	\$106.7	\$36.4	\$144.1	
State (includes UNOMUR and	0	0	61.1	169.4	230.5	
UNAMIR assessments)	(0)	(0)	(34.0)	(75.5) ^b	(109.5	
USAID	22.1	23.8	93.6	59.6	199.1	
Other agencies	0	0	0	0	0	
Total	\$22.1	\$24.8	\$261.4	\$265.4	\$573.7	

^aAs of August 1995, the United Nations had reimbursed DOD \$10.6 million for its participation in U.N. peace operations in Rwanda.

From fiscal years 1992 through 1995, USAID costs amounted to \$199 million primarily for the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance to provide emergency funding for food, seed and tools, health, water, and sanitation for the war-affected population in Rwanda. This assistance was provided primarily through international relief organizations such as the World Food Program, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and Catholic Relief Services, which carried out many of the day-to-day relief operations.

The Department of State's costs were \$230.5 million for fiscal years 1994 through 1995, with about \$110 million for the U.S. assessment. State's Bureau for Population, Refugees and Migration also provided funds to the International Organization for Migration, International Committee of the Red Cross, International Rescue Committee, and U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees for camps in Rwanda.

During 1994, DOD airlifted, on a reimbursable basis, U.N. troop contingents and their supplies and equipment to Rwanda in support of UNAMIR II. It also airlifted emergency relief supplies for U.N. agencies and nongovernmental organizations as well as 2,000 troops to the region in support of humanitarian relief. These DOD activities cost about \$107 million. From fiscal years 1992 through 1995, DOD's reported incremental costs were \$144.1 million.

^bAs of the end of fiscal year 1995, outstanding U.S. assessments for UNAMIR were \$25.4 million. These costs are not included in this report.

Somalia

The first operation in Somalia authorized by the U.N. Security Council was Operation Provide Relief, which was a humanitarian mission that ran from April 1992 through December 1992. This operation was followed by the U.S.-led Unified Task Force's (UNITAF) Operation Restore Hope, which ran from December 1992 to May 1993 and combined humanitarian relief with limited military action aimed at providing security for U.N. personnel and humanitarian organizations throughout Somalia. According to DOD, UNITAF created a secure environment and subsequently transferred operations back to the United Nations when the U.N. operations in Somalia (UNOSOM) II was authorized by the Security Council in May 1993. As part of the mission, U.S. forces continued providing logistical support. The United States also maintained a quick reaction force to support UNOSOM II. All U.S. forces supporting UNOSOM II were withdrawn in March 1994. The United Nations terminated the UNOSOM II operation in March 1995, with help from the United States to withdraw the remaining U.N. troops. The reported incremental cost to U.S. government agencies from fiscal years 1992 through 1995 in support of U.N. peace operations in Somalia was \$2.2 billion (see table I.4).

Table I.4: Costs of Peace Operations in Somalia (Fiscal Years 1992-95)

Dollars in millions					
	Fiscal year				
Agency	1992	1993	1994	1995	1992-95
D0D ^a	\$1.6	\$943.1	\$528.0	\$49.4	\$1,522.1
State (U.S. assessment for	26.6	61.7	332.8	16.9	438.0
UNOSOM)	(0)	(40.9)	(330.9)	(16.9)b	(388.7)
USAID	64.7	103.7	44.9	25.8	239.1
Other agencies	0	16.3	7.6	0	23.9
Total	\$92.9	\$1,124.8	\$913.3	\$92.1	\$2,223.1

^aAs of August 1995, the United Nations had reimbursed DOD \$52.6 million for its participation.

DOD reported incremental costs of approximately \$1.5 billion for UNITAF'S military intervention, logistical support as part of UNOSOM II, support for UNOSOM II during the operation, and assistance in the withdrawal of UNOSOM II. Because Somalia lacked basic infrastructure, DOD refurbished or built housing facilities, ports, and other infrastructure. DOD also launched a military airlift from Mombasa, Kenya, to deliver food to sites in Somalia. In

^bAssessments billed by the United Nations in fiscal year 1994 but paid in fiscal year 1995. As of the end of fiscal year 1995, outstanding U.S. assessments for UNOSOM were \$94 million. These costs are not included in this report.

March 1995, U.S. troops helped UNOSOM II withdraw from Somalia at an estimated cost of \$22 million.

The State Department's reported costs from fiscal years 1992 through 1995 for U.N. operations in Somalia was \$438 million, of which \$388.7 million was for the U.S. assessment for UNOSOM. State also provided assistance to internally displaced and other conflict victims within Somalia.

USAID reported costs of \$239.1 million for fiscal years 1992 through 1995 for medical and food assistance. The agency supported several relief activities, including food distribution, health and nutrition, water and sanitation, agriculture and livestock, and mine clearance. USAID assistance also supported efforts to establish a police and judicial system in Somalia.

Comments From the Department of Defense

COMMENTS FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE



UNDER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE 1100 DEFENSE PENTAGON WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1100



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Mr. Harold J. Johnson Associate Director, International Relations and Trade Issues National Security and International Affairs Division U.S. General Accounting Office Washington, D.C. 20548

Dear Mr. Johnson:

This is the Department of Defense response to the General Accounting Office (GAO) draft report, 'PEACE OPERATIONS: U.S. Costs in Support of Haiti, Former Yugoslavia, Somalia, and Rwanda," dated December 18, 1995 (GAO Code 711124/OSD Case 1069).

The DoD generally concurs with the GAO draft report. However, there are several factual errors that require correction and/or additional clarifying comments. The enclosed comments are being provided to clarify and correct the discrepancies in the report that relate to the DoD.

The DoD appreciates the opportunity to comment on the GAO draft report.

Sincerely,

Alice C. Maroni

Principal Deputy Under Secretary of Defense (Comptroller)

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